361 572 621 children grow up, their father builds each one a house of his own next to the original dwelling. In the same way, each of his additional wives receives her own house from him. His first wife, however, remains his favorite wife, and consequently it is her house -- in other words, the one that he built first and which is adjacent to the meeting house -- which remains his home. He keeps it even after the death of the wife.

The next step in the development toward a village takes place when, for some reason or other, a second head of a family joins his establishment to that of the first. This happens, for instance, when a member of the same or of another family unit moves in, or when after the death of the father the eldest son inherits his meeting house, dwellings, and wives, and the younger son is unwilling to submit to his older brother who is now also his chief. He or the new arrival, as the case may be, builds the necessary number of houses for himself and his family along the same row. Sometimes he may even build his houses directly /57/ /Fig. 17/ adjacent to the existing houses, and he will likewise finish off his settlement with a meeting house protruding from the line. If the meeting house is a temporary one, it is placed lengthwise in the square (see Fig. 16); if it is a permanent one, it is placed transversely (see Plate 4).

In this way, a "village" arises from the original individual establishment, and because, like a pair of eyes (dzîs; plural, mîs), it consists of two halves (Fig. 18), the village is called dzâ, plural mâ (see what has been said about the meaning of prefixes /not translated/. There are, thus, two family heads in each village; their rows of houses join somewhere in the middle, with a boundary line which is recognizable, of course, only to the initiated. Everyone, however, can see the two meeting houses (belonging to the *two heads of family) located on opposite sides of the village square.*

The two family heads are legally equals. Certain conditions, however, which we shall discuss more fully in a later section, give one of the heads a position of slight superiority. Sometimes a third establishment is added to the two individual establishments constituting the village, and it also has adjoining rows of houses as well as a meeting house (see Fig. 18).

361 621 314 As has been said, the meeting house is the principal haunt of the chief; in the same way it serves all his sons, male relatives,

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Fig. 17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea.

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344 and followers who help him with its construction and have a permanent right to its use; /58/ /Fig. 18/ hence, the relational prefix a in abā, "meeting house"; hence probably also the Janus head which I saw on the post of a meeting house (cf. Fig. 19). The stem of the word a-bā I derive from ba, "to divide, to share" (1), and I

1. The same stem exists in the numeral two (bai), which is clearly the result of the division of one object.

believe that it was originally intended to designate the place where the game that had been killed was divided. The meeting house is now the place for all public transactions, from the dividing of meat to judicial proceedings, public deliberations, and the reception of strangers.

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344 Sometimes the meeting house constructed when the establishment was founded remains permanently in a temporary state; it remains unfinished because the people are too lazy -- each one thinks the other should start first -- and the chief lacks the power

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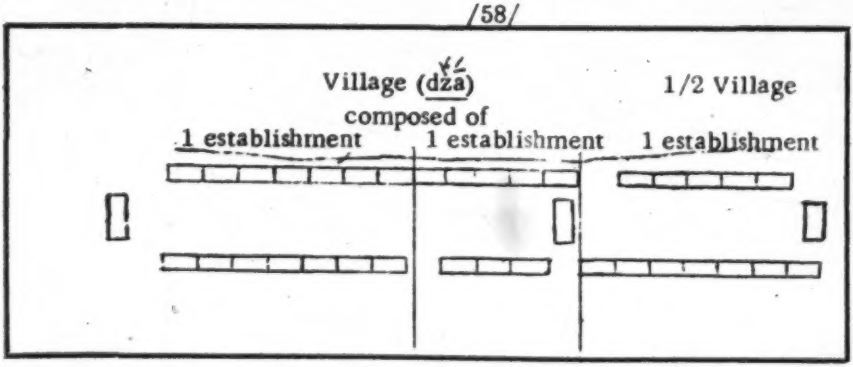

Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so, the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

zɔ́[k] e tsí dan ebɛ̄ī-asɛ́ī, a ye oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

atɛ́ī, a nī oa adzī́t
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

344 461 In some cases, difficulties (such as tree stumps, roots, and the like) were encountered in preparing the building site at the customary place. As a result, the meeting house would be constructed to one side within the row of houses, though in a transverse position (see Fig. 44). Later, "they" frequently did

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Fig. 19. Post from a Meeting House in Malén (Essauong Family), Fang.

not get around to replacing this building by a new one in the right location, however fervently the chief might desire it on behalf of the people. When they did get around to building a new meeting house, the old one was frequently not torn down right away but continued to be used along with the new one.

344 In form, the meeting house (Fig. 20 and 21) has a gabled roof and a square or rectangular ground plan. I have already mentioned the custom of the Pangwe, when they start a new settlement, to content themselves with hastily constructed temporary meeting houses (ongó̱ṉ e ngī). Only later, when

344 the economic life of the settlement has attained a certain stability, are the temporary meeting houses replaced by permanent ones (tsĕ̱hanā́ III) -- although, as we have seen, in some cases they are not replaced. It is this process of gradual settlement which is responsible for certain variations in the forms of the meeting houses, variations which at the same time afford a picture of their development. The simplest houses (see Fig. 110) are basically mere sheltering roofs: a ridgepole is placed on top of two, sometimes three, posts forked at the top (akŭ̱n) and about two meters high. These posts are planted deep in the ground which has first been cleared and then made level and smooth. Raffia stalks, bent in the middle, are placed on top of the ridgepole at varying intervals. These serve as rafters (see Fig. 24 f.), the lower ends of the stalks resting directly on the ground, that is, without any support. The rafters are covered with matting made of raffia pinnae. These mats, ĕ̱sē̱ i (Fig. 22), are made in the following manner. Several sticks are planted in the ground; to these are attached diagonally two long rods of raffia stalk (a), and over these rods is placed a pinna broken in the middle (b). This pinna is clamped together just below the diagonal rods by means of pieces of bark taken from raffia leafstalks. A second pinna (c) is placed alongside the midrib of the first pinna and attached to the latter in the same fashion. Then follows the third pinna, and so forth, until the desired length of several meters has been attained. The mats are attached to the rafters by being placed on top of each other, like tiles on a roof. /60/

A second form of the meeting house (Fig. 23) arose in the following manner from the one described. Because of the rotting of the rafter ends on the moist ground, as well as frequent visits by all kinds of disagreeable reptiles, it was found necessary to raise the rafters somewhat by placing beams under them. These beams are either unhewn trunks and logs or timbers that have been split lengthwise. The latter are usually placed with their cut side turned outward and piled on top of each other between several pairs of vertical posts planted in the ground. The roof lies loosely on the topmost of these timbers. This provides the start for a house wall. In addition to the motives already mentioned, another

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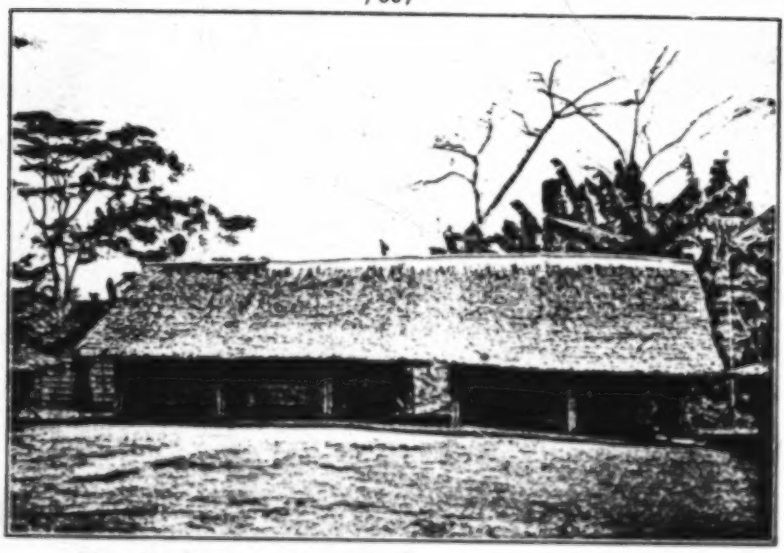

Fig. 20. Meeting House in Olanga (Essángbuak Family).

consideration plays a role, namely, in case of a sudden enemy attack the walls afford better protection against hostile spears than the simple slanting roofs.

In the case of the better permanent meeting houses, wall and roof are more carefully constructed. The main difference, however, is that these houses never face the village square with the gabled end, but with the long side. It is, accordingly, through this side that one enters the house.

As is the universal practice, they first erect the frame, a task which is accomplished in a comparatively short period of time. This frame corresponds in all its parts to that of the temporary meeting house, except that it is taller and wider (Fig. 24). The ridgepole (mbŭn I) b rests on the main posts (abum) a placed along the long axis -- of /61/ which there are from two to five depending on the size of the meeting house. The skeleton of the front and back walls consists of a row of wall posts (myĭ IV) c that are sharpened to a point at the top. As a molding (mfăs I) e, a raffia stalk split down the middle is placed on top of the pointed posts and pressed down on them by hammering or pulling. Then the rafters f, as previously described, are placed over the ridgepole and made to project a certain distance beyond the moldings.

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Fig. 21. Meeting House of a Ntum Village in New Cameroons.

The two outermost rafters rest on the posts that form the frame of the side wall (myĭ, esŭ) d. Then the roof is covered (Fig. 26), a project which requires more labor than the frame and is carried out with much greater care than in the case of the temporary meeting houses. First, the rafters (ntŭ$\hat{e}$n I) f are clamped down by means of a bracket made of raffia (obĭbĭ) g, the bracket being placed on top of the rafters parallel to the ridgepole and tied to the roof beams. In a similar fashion, displacement of the rafters at the lower ends is prevented by means of two brackets running along their top and under sides. I observed a variant mode of construction of meeting houses by the Fang in the region of the Komo (Fig. 25). There the ridgepole was not supported at its free ends, but had been anchored in the ground by means of liana ropes and had been bent downward by tightening the strings.

At this point the mats are placed on top of each other like tiles. This is done from the top, and the process begins slightly below the ridgepole with mat k /62/ (see Fig. 26) and goes downward or, as the case may be, from below upward. The mats are tied either to every second rafter or to their own supporting ropes (mb$\hat{e}$yá-el$\hat{e}$ĭ) which run from the ridgepole to the raffia strip

344 that holds together the rafter ends. A less common procedure is to place brackets diagonally on top of the rafters and fasten the mats to them. Finally the ridgepoles itself is covered. For this purpose two roofing mats (obū́t, elā́t-esē i) h are sewed together at their upper edges and are placed as the topmost layer /Fig. 22 appears here in the original text/ over the ridgepole. For protection, a special ridgepole mat (ngŭ́m IV) i is placed on top of the other mats; it consists of a mat bent in the middle which is clamped to the double mat by means of pegs made of the bark of raffia stalks l.

In those areas where there is no raffia, rafters are made from the leafstalks of oil palms (as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/) or from little tree trunks. /Fig. 23 appears here in original text/ /63/ In [134] place of mats, the leaves of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum. (okĭăikŭi) -- see Plate 11 -- and of the swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii Mann et Wendl. (akṓda), are used, as well as banana leaves to cover the gaps. This substitute for mats is not very durable and is laborious to manufacture since roof laths are continually needed to fasten down the leaves and it is necessary to place Aframomum stalks very closely together from the ridgepole to the edge of the roof; otherwise, the leaves either stretch or are blown off. The durability of a roof covered with swamp palm leaves is so limited that it stays in good condition for only a year, as the people told me, whereas a mat roof holds out for five years before repairs become necessary. /Fig. 24 appears here in the original text./ A roof covered with Sarcophrynium leaves, moreover, looks quite unattractive, especially from the inside where the leaf stems which are cut off near the blade extend into the house.

Once the roof is completed, work on the side walls begins. The material for these is the bark of certain trees whose names are mentioned in the discussion of bark crafts (Section 8, page 213), the leaves of swamp palms and Sarcophrynium, both of which are used more often for the gable walls, and finally strips of raffia pith and mats. The latter, however, are used only sparingly here because of their many small spikes.

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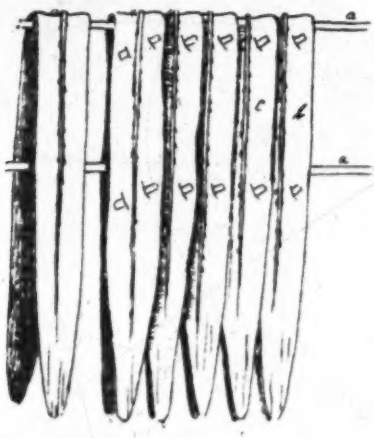

Fig. 22. Piece of a Roofing Mat at the Beginning of its Construction.

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Fig. 23. Small Village in the Settlement of Nssälang (Essáung Family), Spanish Guinea.

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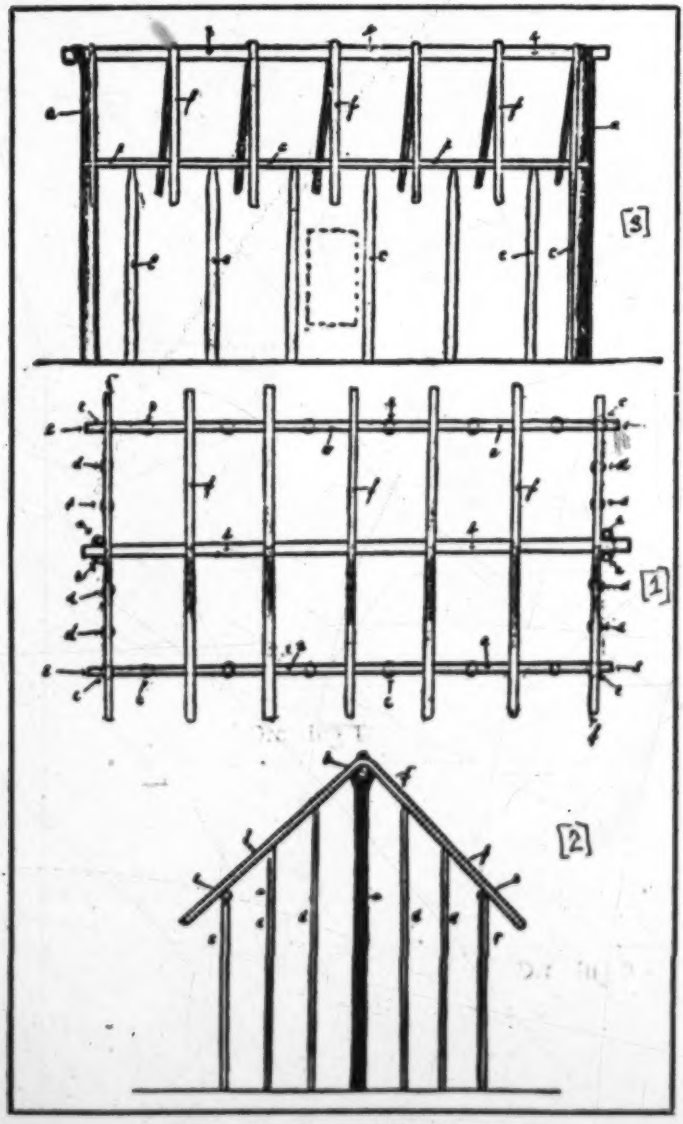

Fig. 24. Frame of a House.
Drawing 1, from above; drawing 2, from the front; drawing 3, from the side.

344 The pieces of bark, one to two meters long and approximately a half meter wide, are attached to the frame in the following manner. To the inner side of the wall posts longitudinal

Fig. 25. Frame of a Meeting House of the Fang from the Region of Komo (Village of Omvan, French Congo). Cross-Section Lengthwise.

strips of raffia leaf stems (ebai) are /64/ attached by means of boards at certain distances from each other, and to these the bark pieces are fastened by means of raffia strips which run exactly parallel to the boards. The posts, therefore, usually stand outside the house, very rarely within it. The bark pieces and raffia strips are held together by bands of Oncocalamus (nloń I = Oncocalamus and band) (1) -- see Plate 16 -- and they are

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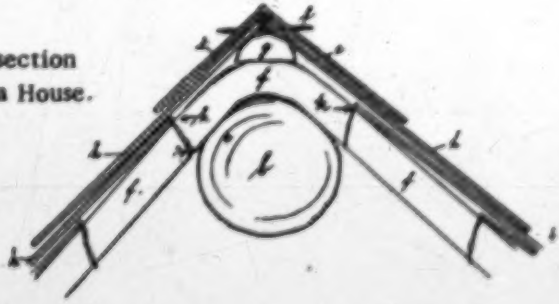
1. The Jaunde buy this "bush rope" from Elandi, the only place in the Jaunde region where bush rope is still available; otherwise they use Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f. (atu[k]e ndžik).

finished by two people working together in the following manner. One of them crouches inside the house, the other outside, and

Fig. 26. Cross-section of the Ridge of a House.



344 [412] they pass the band back and forth through the wall. For drilling holes into the bark pieces, they use an awl (nsoń I). Just as we hammer nails in a straight line, the Pangwe also must fasten the various longitudinal strips in precise lines (see Fig. 35). In the case of raffia mats, because of the little spikes that have been mentioned (the same, incidentally, also frequently applies to the bark pieces), the laths are usually placed so closely one on top of the other that very little or nothing of the mats remains visible (as in Fig. 33). In the same manner as the bark, the pieces of raffia pith are held fast between the boards; strips of pith are placed next to each other from top to bottom, and at longer intervals they are tied to the boards.

The treatment of the walls varies greatly, except that the gable walls are always completely closed. The rear wall, which is never absent, usually has a few window openings, one in the middle in the form of a square or a rectangle and one on each side in the form of a horizontal, longitudinal slit. /Fig. 26 appears here in the original text./ /65/ The central opening is commonly used as both window and door, but it is so small that it requires some skill to squeeze through it. At the same place, however, there may be doors in our sense of the term, which extend to the ground and may or may not have a threshold.

The front wall may be identical with the back wall /Fig. 27 appears here in the original text/ (in other words, it is closed except for window openings on either side and in the middle); it may be only half as high; it may be no more than a parapet or a trellis made of raffia stalks; or, finally, it may be lacking on one side or be completely absent.

The roof is frequently made to project in font to such an extent that /Fig. 27b appears here in the original text/ /66/ a covered veranda is formed, held up by a few posts (omyĭmyi,); sometimes the front area is closed off in front or at the sides by a parapet or trellis. A wooden beam which serves as a threshold prevents the rain that drips off the roof from running into the house (1).

1. When the house has been completed, the soil inside is usually moistened, and for a few days banana leaves are placed on it so the ground may become "strong," as they say.

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Drawing 1 /65/

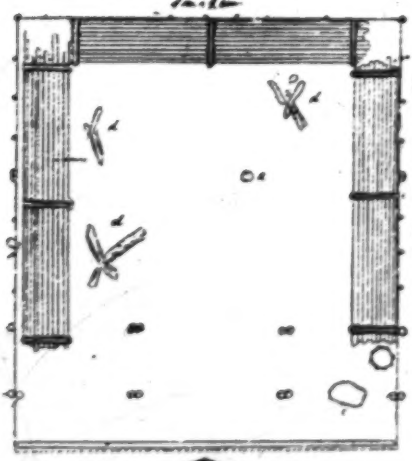

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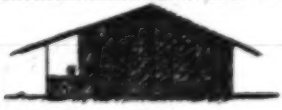
Fig. 27a. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Majo (Schumu Family): a, main post; b, skin drum; c, whetstone; d, fireplaces.

Drawing 2. Side view.



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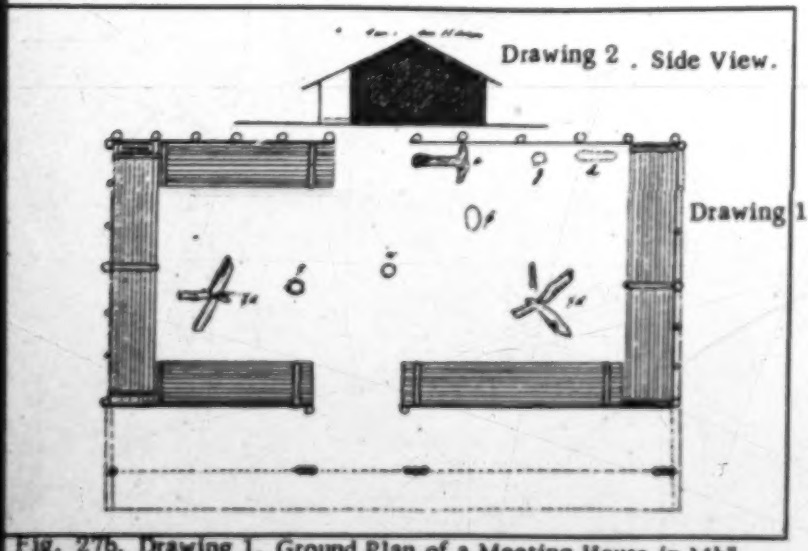

Fig. 27b. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Mbã (Essãkunan Family): a, main post; b, forge; c, bellows; d, nets for wild game (c and d are hanging); e, anvil (stone); f, fireplaces; g, seat (tree stump); h, wooden drum.

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The interior of the house (Plate 5, Fig. 27a and 27b) consists of a single empty room, broken only by the isolated posts (the central supports of the ridgepole). In some cases I observed that these posts were handsomely carved, but only in houses with one central post. The carvings showed stylized or modified human figures (Fig. 19) and quite faithful representations of animals. I recall, for instance, a very beautiful post on which was pictured a pig biting the tail of a leopard, which I saw in the village of Bingomo (Abâi family).

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Along the walls there are low benches of which I have seen two different types. The simplest benches, hence the ones designed more often for temporary meeting houses, consist of the trunks of umbrella trees (Musanga) which have been split lengthwise down the middle or of raffia stalks which have simply been placed across two sheives of the same wood (kū'dū III). The same kind of bench is always found in places where there is no raffia and also in huts that serve as lodgings for guests. The second type of bench (see Fig. 28 and 29) is a rectangular frame of raffia stalks (enŏ'h) split lengthwise down the middle; its narrow side consists in each case of two legs (a = akōkŏ'nŏk) with pointed pins (c = mbɛ̆n -ak. I Fang, oɛ̆n Jaunde) which pierce and hold together four layers, placed on top of each other: the lowest, a wooden ledge, and then three raffia stalks. The wooden ledge (b = oɛ́mɛ́ja-enŏn) has a central section cut out for the support of nine or more stalks (e) wedged into it, which constitute the seat of the bench; the three raffia stalks (d = kū'dū -enŏn III) serve to hold down the latter and also as a head and foot rest. Sometimes there is also a back rest (f = aɛ́gebɛ̆ -enŏh), consisting of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and simply placed on top of

Fig. 28. Side of a Bench.

344 the lengthened pin of the back legs.
353 In some meeting houses the front legs project to form a semi-
circle which covers up the narrow sides of the head rests. The
[531] outer surface of these semicircles is either carved to look like a
face or else incised and provided with decorative surfaces which
are painted red and white (Fig. 29). /Fig. 28 appears here in the
original text./ /67/

344 Next to the benches, the most important part of the furnishings
354 of the meeting house consists of a number of logs which are placed
together to form a fireplace (see Fig. 27). During the day the fire
burns constantly, and during the night the logs are placed together
so skillfully that the fire often keeps going until the next morning.
/Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ The importance of
the cheering fire in the tropics is greater than one might believe;
not only does it serve as a protection against the frequently severe
morning chill and warm the room on days when the weather is
rainy and cold, but it is also the only means of protection against
[137] the exceedingly annoying sand flies, Culicoides (afi,ge), tiny,
scarcely visible insects whose sting causes an unpleasant itch like
that of stinging nettles.

344 For the rest, the furnishings of the meeting house consist only
363 of such items as drums (wooden and skin drums), a whetstone, and,
352 suspended from the roof, the large hunting net which the inhabitants
use communally on drives. In some cases I also found gun racks
(ekob e nga), Figure 30, which are attached to the wall in the same
way as we attach clothes hooks. Guns are placed on these racks so
they are handy in case of a sudden attack. Another form of this
rack (Fig. 31), likewise not common, consists of a board which is
pointed at the bottom and provided with a hole at the top. This
gun rack (efa[k]-e-nga) is planted in the ground in front of the
meeting house. The butt end of the rifle is placed on the ground
and the barrel is put in the hole in the board.

344 The skulls of hunted animals are frequently kept in the meeting
363 house as hunting trophies. Either they are held under the roof mats
by means of poles, or they can be seen lying around on the roof;
only large skulls, like those of elephants, are sometimes placed in
front of the house. /Fig. 30 appears here in the original text./

Drawing 1 Drawing 2

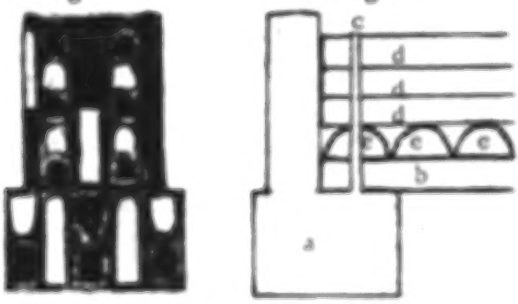

Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

In many meeting houses, furthermore, one sees /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 b) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 c) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 e) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (eyuh e nduan). Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, which [illegible] give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Enguguma, Fang.

The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

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Fig. 33. Meeting House in Nschüggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Boards of Bark.

covered with charcoal drawings on the inside between the raffia boards. At this point, however, I cannot go into this art work in any greater detail (see Section 9, "Fine Arts").

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If it were not for the people who enliven the house with their handicrafts and activities, /Fig. 32 appears here in the original text/ if the flaring fire did not lend the large, dark rooms a special, almost mysterious quality -- it would be too dreary. It is precisely here that one notices how everywhere only pulsating life, man in his sad and in his happy hours, not the material environment, is capable of attracting us. The same room which we disposed of just now with a disparaging glance is capable of creating a totally different impression in the evenings when the men and young /69/ /Fig. 33 appears here in the original text/ people gradually congregate in the meeting house in order to listen to the old, hunchbacked Njema-Ndongo tell of the mysterious and uncanny creatures of the fabulous world. Indefatigably they listen, however long he may spin out his yarn, motionless they look at him as he restlessly rubs his hands over the fire, wags his finger threateningly, separates or pushes aside the logs when the

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Fig. 34. Dwelling in Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

344 fire gets too hot for him, and wards off the smoke from his face
517 like a person gently but firmly sending a little child away! He
538 looks as though he is talking to the fire and delivering a speech to the logs. Everybody listens in silence, everybody hangs on his words. And then follows a deliberate pause, after which he begins anew with impressive intonation; and at familiar places all the listeners enter into the narrative with a brief choral song in response to the solo part of the old man. Or there may be a
344 bit of gossip to relate, with a hubbub of biting words, an oc-
517 casion for spontaneous gaiety to prevail. On yet another oc-
521 casion a performance by a famous xylophone artist will draw
533 the population to the meeting house. The entire village, women and children included, takes part in these recitals; the children beat out the rhythm with small pieces of wood, while the women, with great dignity, beat together groundnuts and ngon which represent the "fee" and, softly humming a refrain, cast a meaningful glance in the direction of the tireless player.

342 The dwelling (ndá; plural, mandá), Figure 34, like the meeting house, /70/ /Fig. 34 appears here in the original text/ has a gabled roof and a rectangular ground plan. Like meeting houses, dwellings have both temporary and permanent forms.

dwellings, stand with the gabled side facing the village square and look just like them except that they are firm and durable. Storage houses are to be found only in the villages of wealthier chiefs.

The houses for strangers (esá'bád) are built following exactly the same pattern and ground plan as the ordinary dwelling, but they are very hastily constructed: the walls are usually only plaited palm leaves; the door extends to the ground with no threshold; and the sleeping benches are those of the simple kind (kū'dū III), often made only of umbrella tree trunks split lengthwise down the middle and placed on top of two casters of the same wood. They are constructed especially on the occasion of the festival for departed souls when greater numbers of strangers are expected; at the conclusion of the festive period they are pulled down.

In the forests or on very isolated plantations, refuge huts are frequently built. These are often no more than mere protective roofs (myō e ngī III = gorilla home), while others resemble the simplest temporary meeting houses, that is, huts in which the gabled sides are open and the long walls are either absent or consist only of a few tree trunks (angó'n e ngī = gorilla crown, that is, the strip which juts out like a comb on the top of the gorilla's skull). /79/

Special houses are built next to or behind the dwellings or just outside the village for persons with contagious diseases (frambesia, leprosy) (see Fig. 16). Because they are designed for only one person, they are usually smaller than the dwellings; they have the same shape but are carelessly constructed and soon deteriorate because nobody takes the trouble to repair them.

Here and there I found stables; in the next section I shall come back to these. /Fig. 42 appears here in the original text./

Finally, it should be mentioned that in some villages especially those close to the coast, there are houses on piles. These are copied from the European settlements and are almost completely useless for the natives since their construction requires greater care and trouble than that of ordinary houses. Consequently, the houses on piles built by the Pangwe are veritable caricatures of human dwellings.

1: Tessmann--330 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Plate V

Interior of the Meeting House of Olanga (Endingbuak Family).
Ntum Region.

made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes: "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day long," (3) without being able to enter the abèñɔ̃, which is absolutely

3. Travels in West Africa, p. 154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñɔ̃ as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage, lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most important interdicts (éki). Males of the same nd'ê bòt assemble in the abèñɔ̃, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñɔ̃ of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

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FANG DANCE.

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ABEMO OR PALAVER HOUSE.

[p. 66(D)]